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342 824 The fronds of the babassu or of the anajá palm furnish thatch for the roofs; such walls as there are are of the same material, which is tied to the posts and, if need be, to supplementary intermediate poles. The parts of the structure are tied together with vines. All the palm thatch is used with the rib of the leaf in horizontal position and with unilaterally dependent leaflets. The ridge is covered with longitudinally laid palm fronds held down by a number of angle-shaped pieces of wood hooked together in pairs.

342 A complete house is walled on all four sides, but sometimes the front wall is partly or wholly missing; or only one half of the house forms a sort of closed room. But the door always faces the long side turned toward the plaza. This front door usually has for a counterpart an entrance in the rear wall. The houses of Ponto, without an exception, conform to this type (pl. 1, *b*); not a single one has the door in the gable wall, as has been alleged.[127] This form does occur fairly often, however, among the Krahõ'.

None of the Canella houses has windows, but these are also lacking in many Neobrazilian homes. The entrance is generally barred by a transversely set old racing log which must be cleared, its purpose being to exclude the freely roaming domestic pigs. At night and when all inmates are away the door is closed, meagerly enough, with a mat of palm thatch placed or hung in front of it. The men erect the houses in which they live, but the women own them.

345 561 The dwellings of the families of the vụ'tẹ' girls, where the age classes assemble and are entertained during the ceremonial period of the year, are put up by the two youngest age classes. The class localized on the west side of the plaza erects the home of the vụ'tẹ' associated with the east, and vice versa.

342 561 464 The youngest age classes also put up a house for the wife of a Canella who has journeyed to the capital in the tribal interest. Anyone desiring the aid of these age classes applies to the councilors, who then transmit the request to the commandants of the classes (p. 93). These units receive no compensation beyond their meals; they always turn up accompanied by their female age-mates, who dance with them and help prepare the food. In one case I saw both matrilineal and patrilineal relatives work at the construction of a house for the woman owning it. In other instances only the residents took part in the building.

351 245 Immediately beside or behind the house, more rarely in front, there are usually several urucú bushes; sometimes one may also see there a pepper shrub, a mango, lemon, or orange tree, the last three of these representing additions from the Neobrazilians.

251 349 A feature comparatively common among the Krahõ', but rare among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, is a scaffold of poles close beside or behind the house. On this stage, always too high to be reached by dogs and pigs, all sorts of objects can be dried in the sun, notably manioc paste, but also gourd vessels, arrow cane, meat, and the like.

511 361 342 The settlements of the other Eastern Timbira present a far less cleanly and orderly appearance. The two Kenpókateye-Krahõ' villages—Pedra Branca (pl. 1, *a*) and Pedra Furada—do not even remotely approach Ponto in this respect. Their huts are smaller, less carefully built, and for the most part lack hip roofs. The Apạ'nyekra aldea, Porquinhos, shows marked deterioration with its twelve small and mostly tumbledown huts. Brush covers the plaza, where a small, poor rancho serves as an hostelry for Neobrazilian travelers, an institution I have never seen among other Timbira groups; and the roads are overgrown with weeds. The settle-

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[127] Sampaio and Magalhães Corrêa, Nota sobre habitat rudimentar, Est. II.

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ments of the Krĩkatí and Pụkóbye were of the same order; of these, Canto da Aldea had eight huts, São Felix thirteen, and Recurso eleven. These dwellings were either quite open or had a single wall in the rear, whose palm leaves were attached in vertical position, with the points downward. This mode of attachment is characteristic of the aboriginal Eastern Timbira, the method now customary among the Rąmkõ'kamekra (p. 40), having been adopted from the Neobrazilians according to the Indians' own statements. The smallest and poorest huts I have seen are those in Recurso.

The Kre'pụ'mkateye settlement of Gamelleira do Rumo is situated in the woods, on the steep left bank, 50 m. in height, of the Rio Grajahú. It comprises eight rather small huts, most of them having walls of clay-daubed latticework; they surround an approximately round plaza of barely 50 m. in diameter.

Sleeping and sitting accommodations.—The principal article of furniture is the platform bed (pą'ra), a grid of closely laid burity leaf stalks resting on four forked posts with two crossbeams. Its ordinary elevation above the floor is about 50 cm., the length from 170 to 200 cm., and the width varies according to the number of occupants—from half a meter for a single person to 3 m. for a sizable family. If the house has a closed space, the beds—one for each individual family—are always indoors. A young girl generally constructs her platform bed below the roof at a height of 2 m., and surrounds it with a partition of mats; for a ladder she uses a notched log or simply a pole tied in slanting position. The boys and young men as a rule sleep in the plaza outdoors, but several of them may sleep on a platform bed indoors. This is, however, merely a makeshift in case of rain.

A larger or smaller number of mats lie on the bed, which when properly made has a bottom layer of one or two mats of babaasu or anajá grass (kupíp) to level the unevenness of the surface, with mats of burity bast (ka'tą') above. The former are long, but relatively narrow and always in a two-step twilling technique; the latter of any desired width (up to 120 cm.), but at most 1 m. in length, to which must be added a 30 to 40 cm. fringe. Some of the Indians make burity mats de luxe by plaiting into the fabric ornamental horizontal or vertical stripes or squares and painting them with yellow dots, strokes, and zigzags, the pigment being derived from the root of the urueú shrub. The burity mats do service as a covering, but the feet remain bare, being always kept warm at night by a fire maintained at the foot of the bed.

However, the mat-covered platform beds also serve as benches and tables; indeed, a large part of domestic life is spent on them. Many take their meals there, some permit pet dogs to find a resting place on the bed. In consequence the mats are usually greasy and brownish-red from urueú and dirt. When they have turned filthy, they are washed in a stream with the leaves of a shrub that yield a soaplike lather. On the other hand, the anajá and babaasu grass mats, which can be quickly manufactured, are never washed, but simply superseded by new ones.

On fine nights many families are accustomed to sleep for several hours on mats on the ground directly in front of their houses. After sunset the people like to sit on mats outdoors and thus simply remain lying there, falling asleep, even without a fire, until the chill of the morning drives them inside.

Indoors the Canella mostly seat themselves on the bed or, if it should be present, on a hammock. However, there are also, though rather rarely, curved little stools (mekričą) from the spathe of the anajá (avarprẽp), especially among the Krĩkatí and Pụkópye. Outdoors one likes to seat oneself on mats, women also using for this purpose fire fans (pl. 12, *a*); and in the woods a bunch of leaves is torn off and

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Notwithstanding Ribeiro's explicit assertion that the Krahô' of 1816 did not know how to raise or treat cotton, it seems to me to have been native to all Northwestern and Central Gê before the advent of civilization. In the first place, cotton is employed in a variety of ways—in wholly aboriginal forms of industry as well as in ceremonial, notably in the boys' initiation festival. A second argument is the technique of plaiting cotton carrying slings for children, though it must be admitted that according to Ribeiro[20] their material was burity bast. Third, there is the form of the spindle, deviating from the neighboring Neobrazilian and Guajajára parallels (pl. 18, *a*); finally, all the Northwestern tribes share the same word for cotton.

Ethnographically, however, the kupá is the most important of Timbira cultivated species. This creeper (*Cissus* sp.) has starchy tendrils, which attain the thickness of an inch and are baked in earth ovens. It does not occur wild; is restricted, so far as my information goes, to the Eastern and Western Timbira and the Šerénte, all of them Gê tribes; and is pronouncedly xerophil. Accordingly, it is probably a very old cultivated species peculiar to these tribes, which could not have borrowed it from either Neobrazilians or any of their present Indian neighbors.

As for tobacco, my corresponding comment on it among the Apinayé also holds for the Eastern Timbira. Apparently they were *acquainted* with it before the coming of civilization, but even nowadays they do not plant it, the timid attempts of this or that Rąmkõ'kamekra having invariably failed to yield satisfactory results. I did not observe a single case of its magical or ceremonial use among these people. Both sexes, however, are passionate smokers and constantly beg for tobacco. They smoke cigarettes of maize husks or tanary bast; a few also use little clay pipe bowls bent at an angle, with bamboo stems (kačím; Portuguese, caximbo). The chief Kukrãčą' manufactures very pretty and neatly finished specimens, partly for sale to Neobrazilians, among whom the same form is in vogue.

Urueú and pepper shrubs, as well as sporadic *Crescentia*, mango, lemon or orange trees, are planted beside or behind dwellings, the young plants being guarded against roving pigs and fowls by little fences of vertically set sticks or by circumscribed quadrangles made of former racing logs.

The true plantations (pl. 5, *a*) are situated in the narrow *galeria* forests by the brooks. Since annually new clearings are necessary, the distance of the plots from the village steadily increases. When the transportation of the crops becomes altogether too cumbersome, the Indians are obliged to move their village near the new plots. Thus, the Rąmkõ'kamekra migrate with fair regularity about every ten years from the Ribeirão Santo Estevão to the Ribeirão dos Bois. While they are stationed by one of the two creeks for from ten to twenty years, the timber of the other grows again sufficiently to permit the creation of new plots.

Each individual family has its plantation, owned by the woman. No single man owns a plot, but many an unmarried woman claims one and gets her kinsmen to make the requisite clearings, this being an exclusively masculine task. For the last hundred years only iron axes have been in use, different brands being very well distinguished by the natives, who rightly prefer the North American "Collins" blades. No one nowadays is able to haft such stone blades as are still occasionally found. The method of felling timber with iron tools coincides with Neobrazilian practice. Though not every Indian has a good ax suitable for the purpose, he may borrow a relative's.

The several plots belonging to the married woman of an extended family usually, but not always, adjoin one another. At times one individual family may simul-

[20] Memoria, § 12.

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taneously own plots in two separate sites. Boundaries between the plantations of different owners are generally marked by rows of maize plants. The size of a plot depends on the tree-feller's industry. One hectare (not quite two and a half acres) is probably the minimum for a single family, many owning double that area, but estimates are difficult because the form is never regular. Pohl sets the diameter of a Põrekamekra extended family's farm at one hundred fathoms—a somewhat smaller estimate. The yield naturally hinges by no means exclusively on the extent of the clearing and the number of plants, but very largely on the care bestowed on them. In this respect the Eastern Timbira are often incredibly negligent. To be sure, many families violently exert themselves in felling timber and planting their crops, so that they could well harvest far more than the needs of subsistence. But after this initial effort they pay little attention, so that the farm goes to rack and ruin. There is no such personal sentimental bond between cultivated plants and their owner as I discovered among the Apinayé.[240]

Both sexes jointly plant, weeding is almost wholly a feminine job, harvesting exclusively so. No man will ever haul a carrying-basket with fruits; at most he may

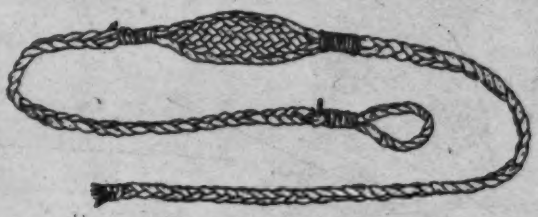

Fig. 4. Sling. ⅛ nat. size.

carry a few maize cobs or tubers in his hands. At the time of maturation swarms of dwarf parrots attack the plantations, which are mostly guarded by the bigger boys, armed with slings (fig. 4) or, more rarely, with pellet bows (pl. 15, *a*) borrowed from the Neobrazilians.

Except where the plots of the steppe Timbira adjoin impenetrable riparian forests they are protected by coarse, heavy fences made of logs resting on forked supports. These enclosures are to shut out not, as Snethlage supposed, game animals, but rather the cattle of neighboring ranchers, the worst plague that afflicts their fields. But notwithstanding these fences the beasts, particularly if of the zebu breed, often break down the barrier and will within a few hours destroy the whole crop. Fazendeiros have more than once deliberately driven their herds into the Indians' plantations, especially if they were "rightful owners" of Indian lands, in order to compel the natives to abandon the site. Only about ten years ago this was the fate of the Mãkamekra horde of the Krahõ' and their plantations at the sources of the Rio Manoel Alves Pequeño. If the Indians then shoot down one of these pests and consume it by way of indemnifying themselves for the loss of their farm, the stockmen wax highly indignant over such "cattle lifting."

Of the wild animals harmful to the crops the dwarf parrots rank as the worst. No sooner has the sun risen than they swarm from their nocturnal resting places in the riparian trees and swiftly pounce upon the crops, screaming aloud. Thus they cause considerable havoc, not so much by what they consume as by the quantities of scattered and spoiled fruit. This applies, above all, to the ripening maize

[240] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 90.